

ARTHURIAN LITERATURE

FROM the beginnings of Arthurian romance there has apparently been no subsidence of interest in the stories, both principal and secondary, which are connected with the name and exploits of the main character and the satellites swinging around him as a center. The production has not always been constant, nor do we find in each century reproductions of the tales and versions of the preceding century. This may be indicative of the real situation, or it may be due to the fact that all the copies of a certain version have been lost, or, if extant, still lie undiscovered in some hidden recess. The whole corpus of the literature belonging to the Arthurian cycle, and to the still more extensive one, the Celtic or Breton, must have been enormous. What relation the entire number of versions we now possess bears to the whole production will never be known. We have knowledge of certain versions which have been lost, and, in some cases, also of the names of the authors. It is the purpose of this article to determine, as well as can be done with the material available, the condition and progress of the literature and its geographical distribution, to show its chronological development, and to present the names and titles belonging to each century. Only literature, as such, will be considered, and no account will be taken here of the progress of critical literature: studies, editions, and similar productions. Theories regarding origins of the tales, or the hypothetical existence of unknown writers or versions will not be regarded, nor will any works inspired by the Arthurian stories, as, for instance, *Amadis*, *Le Petit Artus*, etc., be considered. Allusions to the presence of versions at different periods and in various countries may be found in many productions in the middle Ages, but all such references are of little value in this article, because, even if we can thus attest the existence of the tales, it is not certain that they were written in the language of the writer making the mention. Compare, for instance, the quotations in Menéndez y Pelayo's *Tratado*¹ concerning the existence

¹ Menéndez y Pelayo. *Tratado de los romances viejos*. Madrid (*Bibl. clásica*), 1903-6, II, 448 ff.

of Arthurian tales in Spain. Were these versions written in Spanish, French or Italian? We do not know. And, too, the names thus mentioned and the tales about them were, doubtless, due in many cases to oral tradition, and were thus not represented in the written literature of the time. This article is entirely historical, and, to a large extent, statistical, and is an attempt to bring together the information scattered here and there in monographs, which is frequently difficult to locate. The data given here have been obtained by extensive reading of monographs, critical editions, and bibliographies, searches made in journals and the publications of learned societies, and the examination of not easily accessible versions in the libraries of this country and Europe. The list is, certainly, not complete, nor, probably, in all cases correct, due to the lack of accurate knowledge regarding the treasures of libraries and the facts concerning early writers. The writer will be grateful for information regarding errors or omissions. Scholars are not agreed in many cases as to dates and relationships, nor even as to the existence, under names now known, of certain writers, nor concerning the original date of certain versions. This makes the task of the historian and bibliographer difficult. Thus, any enumeration is subject to error, but, in the light of what is known, based on extant versions, the statements regarding the condition of the cycle in any period are, probably, relatively correct. Few references are made to other articles, as this paper is to be followed by a chronological and descriptive bibliography of Arthurian literature, by means of which the statements here made can be controlled.

We may, for convenience, divide the whole period into two parts, one before and the other after the first printed monument. This division is purely arbitrary, and is not based on any suggestive development of the literature, but represents a certain factor in the production and preservation of previous versions which might have otherwise been lost. The two periods here established overlap, as manuscripts are found in the latter part of the fifteenth century, and in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, although in small numbers. Doubtless more than those at present known have existed. The dividing date in our especial case is, as far as is known, 1477, when two German publications appeared, both at Augsburg, one dealing with *Perceval*, and the other treating of

Titurel. These were rapidly followed, as will be shown farther on, by versions on other subjects, and published in other cities and countries. The first period has for some time been the object of study by scholars with the view to solving, if possible, the problems regarding the origins of the cycle, the genealogy and interrelationship of versions. Various prose and metrical productions have been edited and subjected to critical analysis. Some attention has been directed to the narrations of the sixteenth and later centuries, but the period after the invention of printing has received little attention, except in the case of Malory, Tennyson, and Wagner. Much yet remains to be done, and, until the work has progressed more fully, it is impossible to state the real facts with accuracy, especially those concerning the large number of anonymous versions which have not been adequately described.

The earliest date for Arthurian literature is the eighth or ninth century, when, in Nennius, we have the first statement regarding Arthur, in which he is spoken of as a warrior. Evans² quotes the chronicle of Helinand,³ who writes to the effect, that a Breton hermit of the eighth century, 720, wrote a Latin history, or description, of the *Grail*, but, on page 297 of the work cited, Evans concludes that the work was written shortly before the year 1220.

Villemarqué⁴ publishes a Welsh popular song of the tenth century, *Arthur et la Reine Gwennivar*; on p. 427, a poem of the same century entitled *Arthur, Tristan et Gwalchmai*, and on p. 430, *Arthur un jour de bataille, fragment épique tiré de la légende armoricaine des rois, poème du X^e ou du XI^e siècle, d'après un manuscrit gallois en prose du XV^e siècle*. These statements are not supported by sufficient evidence to be conclusive.

We must then, in the absence of information to the contrary, consider Geoffrey of Monmouth as the next writer who interested himself in the Arthurian legend, although as incidental material in a different line of writing. In his *Historia Britonum* and *Vita Merlini*, Arthur appears as warrior and Merlin as prophet. No

² *The High History of the Holy Graal*, London, Dent, 1898, II, 293.

³ *Helinandi op.*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia, cursus completus*. Parisiis, 1844-6, CCXII, 814.

⁴ *Les Romans de la Table ronde*, etc. . . . , Paris, nouvelle édition, 1861, 140 ff.

legendary or fabulous deeds are here ascribed to Arthur; the statements are made with the coolness and assurance of the conscientious historian. Gildas, of the sixth century, is regularly mentioned in histories of the Arthurian cycle, but there is no mention in his writings of an Arthurian personage;⁵ he is connected with Geoffrey only through data concerning the history of the British people. Geoffrey became the basis of many chronicles⁶ and of a few works of semi-historical and semi-romantic fiction, and served as a medium for the introduction of legendary material, which, like the stories that became attached to Charlemagne, became identified almost exclusively with Arthurian personages.

The names in the twelfth century, including six chroniclers connected with Geoffrey of Monmouth, who translated or rehandled his *Historia Britonum*, are: Alfred of Beverly; Benedict of Gloucester, who, in his life of St. Dubricius, gives an outline of Geoffrey's account of Arthur; Bérout; Chrestien de Troyes; Eilhart von Oberg; Etienne, monk of Bec, who, in his *Draco Normannicus*, gives a Latin paraphrase of Geoffrey's *Historia*, in which Arthur is more exalted than in Geoffrey; Gautier (Gauchier) de Doullens (Denet, Dons, Dordans, Doudain) who continued Chrestien, Geoffrey of Monmouth; Geoffrei Gaimar; Godefroy de Laigny (Ligni), continuator of Chrestien; Gottfried of Viterbo; Gottfried von Strassburg; (or beginning of the thirteenth century), Hartmann von Aue; Hélie de Borron; Henry of Huntingdon; Layamon; Henry Lonelich; Luce de Gast (Gua, Gaut, Guesnes, Genes, Wat, Wad, Gat, Gal); Gautier Map; Marie de France; Robert, a monk, or Brother Robert; Robert de Borron; Robert of Gloucester; Thomas (French); Thomas (English); Ulrich von Zatzikhoven; Wace; William of Malmesbury; besides numerous anonymous productions.

R. H. Fletcher⁷ notes that Alanus de Insulis (1175) mentions the belief in the return of Arthur from Avalon. Villemarqué⁸

⁵ However, E. W. B. Nicholson, in *Academy*, 1895, 297ff., suggests, that the word "urse," in Gildas, is his translation of the name *Arthur*.

⁶ R. H. Fletcher, *The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles, especially those of Great Britain and France, Harvard Studies in Philology and Literature*, X, 1906, *passim*.

⁷ *Harvard Studies in Philology and Literature*, X, 1906, 101.

⁸ *Romans*, etc., 25-27.

states that Gauthier Calenius, or Walter of Oxford,⁹ brought Tysilio's *Légende des rois*, early seventh century, from Armorica, and translated it into Cambrian. No evidence has come to the writer that his production is extant. Arnaldo Daniello is supposed to have written a Provençal *Lancelot*. Compositions are also referred to by the names *Breri* and *Li Kievres*. Fletcher¹⁰ gives a list of chroniclers who followed Geoffrey of Monmouth. In the cathedral at Modena is a relief representing a scene from Arthurian romance, the storming of a castle.¹¹

Anonymous versions are: the *Brut* of Munich, *Lai du cor*, a Welsh manuscript based on Gautier Map, *Lancelot*, *Perceval*, and *Tristan*, which is represented by a Bohemian version based on Eilhart von Oberge, a French metrical version attributed to Thomas, a Greek version, which, however, may belong to the following century, and an episode describing Tristan's disguise as a madman.

Thus the first written monuments are represented by the following titles: *Arthur*, *Brut*, *Cligès*, *Cor*, *Charette*, *Erec et Enide*, *Grael*, *Chevrefeuille*, *G(u)iron*, *Lancelot*, *Historia Britonum*, in Latin and French, *Lanval*, *Meliadus*, *Merlin*, *Perceval*, *Round Table*, *Tristan*, and *Ivain* (*Iwein*). There were in all fifty-four versions,¹² eighteen titles, twenty-eight authors, including six chroniclers, and eight languages were represented. The distribution as to language is interesting. Of the versions mentioned, French has thirty, German, four, Latin,¹³ eleven, English, three, Welsh, Provençal (lost), Bohemian, and Greek each one. Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian do not yet appear, and only the district is represented which is nearest the place of origin of the legends, except in the case of Bohemia and Greece. The spread will be rapid in the next century.

In the thirteenth century we find the following names:¹⁴ Albrecht

⁹ See *Dictionary of National Biography*, London-New York, 1885 ff., under Calenius.

¹⁰ *Harvard Studies*, etc., x, 1906, 171 ff.

¹¹ Foerster, *Zeitschrift f. romanischen Philologie*, XXII, 1898, 243 ff., 526 ff.

¹² By version is not meant here the number of manuscripts, but the various treatments of a subject, or the treatments in different languages.

¹³ Latin compositions should be ascribed to the countries in which they were written, but the data regarding these versions are not sufficiently available to warrant this being done with accuracy.

¹⁴ Names which appear in any century are not counted in the following, even if their productions continue into the following century.

von Scharfenberg, Biket, Hans Brant, Colin le Fruitier, Douglas of Glastonbury, Elias, Hauk Erlendsson, Konrad Fleck, Fulke Fitz-Warin, Gautier d'Aupais, Gautier de Cayx, Gerbert (de Montreuil), Robert Guichard, Guillaume de Rennes, Guillaume le Clerc, Guiot, Guiot de Provins, Heinrich von Freiburg, Heinrich von dem Türlin, Hutton d'Arcy, Jacob van Maerlant, Jehan, Manessier, Paien de Maisières, Philippe Mousket, Der Pleier, Raoul de Houdenc, Renaut, Renaut de Beaujeu, Richart d'Yrlande, Brother Robert, Rusticien de Pise, Sarrazin, Der Stricker, Ulrich von Türheim, Ulrich von Lichtenstein, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Wirnt von Gravenberg, besides a large number of anonymous writers. The name of King Haakon, although himself not a writer, is closely connected with French literature in this period. At his command Brother Robert translated the lays of Marie de France, the *Tristan* of Thomas, and, probably, the *Mantel mautailé* into Icelandic.

Besides the names properly belonging to this century the following are represented by manuscripts or rehandlings: Chrestien de Troyes, Eilhart von Oberge, Geoffrei Gaimar, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gottfried von Strassburg, Hartmann von Aue, Hélie de Borron, Layamon, Luce de Gast, Gautier Map, Marie de France, Robert de Borron, Wace.

The titles handled in this century were: *Arthur*, the main legend and two supplementary ones; *Atre périlleux*; *Brut*; *Claris et Laris*; *Cligès*; *Lai du cor*; *Chevalier au Cygne*; *Chronicles*; *Chevalier à l'épée*; *Chevalier à la robe vermeille* (?); *Chevalier as deus espées*; *Donnée des amants*; *Durmart*; *Erec*; *Fergus* (*Fregus*); *Febusso*; *Grail*, several versions; *Gologras and Galeron*; *Guiron*; *Garel von dem blühenden Tal*; *Giglain*; *Iwein*; *Jaufre*; *Joseph d'Arimathie*; *Krone*; *Lancelot*; *Lais*; *Mantel*; *Merlin*; *Meliadus*; *Mele-ranz*; *Meraugis de Portlesgues*; *Perceval*; *Perlesvaus*; *Raguidel*; *Rigomer*; *Titurel*; *Tristan*, several versions; *Wigoleis*; *Wigamur*; *Yvain*.

There has been an enormous growth of production in this century, judging from the extant monuments. There are thirty-eight names, forty titles and one hundred and thirty-nine versions, divided among fourteen languages as follows: French, seventy-nine; German, twenty-two; Latin, eleven; Italian, six; Icelandic, five; Welsh,

four; English, three; Dutch and Provençal, each two, and Flemish, Greek (?), Portuguese, Spanish and Hebrew, each one.

The subject most frequently treated is *Tristan*, of which there exist thirteen anonymous versions, and nine the authorship of which is known; next is *Lancelot* with five anonymous and two identified, *Merlin*, five anonymous and three identified, *The Grail*, including *The Round Table* and *Joseph of Arimathia*, seven anonymous and three identified. Several of these belong also to the next century. Geoffrey of Monmouth's history continues through this century, and reappears in succeeding ones, but the interest in it must have been due to its historical material, rather than to any novelistic elements. From now on the corpus of Arthurian literature is in full vigor. Besides the principal subjects treated, incidental motives appear, at first, in some cases, entirely unconnected with Arthurian literature, except that they were Celtic in character, fabulous or mysterious, and thus, like the Arthurian stories proper, belong to the larger cycle, the Celtic or Breton. They were handled separately, or became amalgamated with the larger stories, and thus lost their independent character. On the other hand, an incident or personage was, here and there, lifted from a dependent position, and became the subject for separate treatment.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, not including the printed volumes, there is a decrease in the number of versions, and the names are slightly fewer in number than in the twelfth century, where there are twenty-eight, and in the thirteenth century, where thirty-eight have been reported. The number of anonymous works is still large. This falling off in interest was not limited to the Arthurian stories. It is well known that a feeling of weariness and staleness had come over the literary world, and, too, the constant rehandling of old material, and the resulting lack of invention were producing disastrous results. The prose redactions especially were loaded at this time with details of description, labored effort and repetition of kindred motives, and showed little or no originality. Paulin Paris, in his description of the manuscripts in the Royal Library,¹⁵ says of these, that they have fortunately been lost to a great degree. Surely, in reading them we feel little inspiration,

¹⁵ *Les Manuscrits françois de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, etc., Paris, Techener, 1836-48, *passim*.

and our interest in them now lies almost solely in their historic position, or in the material they offer for treatment by later and more brilliant writers, and not in their own literary qualities.

The names belonging to the fourteenth century are: Thomas Chestre, Philipp Colin, Thomas Castleford, Guillem de Torella, Ranulf Higden, Hugh of Eghinton, John of Trevisa, Peter Langtoft, Lodewije van Velten, Robert Manning of Brunne, Penninc, Pedro de Barcellos, Rauf de Bo(h)un, Guillem Rexach, Robert of Thornton, Maistre Richart, Peter Vostaert, Claus Wisse, Zorzi, and one devout writer ascribed a version of the *Grail*, or *Joseph of Arimathia*, to the authorship of Christ. There is a larger proportion of anonymous versions in this century than in the one preceding. Fletcher¹⁶ has given the names of the Latin chroniclers of the century who followed Geoffroy of Monmouth.

Writers of previous centuries who are now represented are: Chrestien de Troyes, with the continuations of Manessier; Gautier de Douzens, and Gerbert; Eilhart von Oberg; Geoffrey of Monmouth; Gottfried von Strassburg; Hartmann von Aue; Heinrich von Freiburg; Heinrich von dem Türlin; Hélie de Borron; Jacob van Maerlant; Lodwige van Velthem; Luce de Gast; Gautier Map; Raoul de Houdenc; Robert de Borron; Rusticien de Pise; Wace; Wolfram von Eschenbach.

The number of writers known for this period is comparatively small, and the number of titles has decreased: *Arthur*, with several additional variants; *Donnée des amants*; *Brut*; *Febusso*; *Guiron*; *Grail*; *Gawayne*; *Iwein*; *Jaufre*; *Joseph*; *Lancelot*; *Lais*; *Lanval*; *Libeaus desconnus*; *Mantel*; *Meliadus*; *Morien (Lancelot)*; *Meriadoc*; *Merlin*; *Novelli antiche*, a collection containing several short poems on Tristan and Lancelot; *Perceval*; *Round Table*; *Titirel*; *Tristan*; *Wigoleis*.

Statistics for the fourteenth century are: nineteen names, twenty-four titles, one hundred and four versions, divided among fourteen languages as follows: French, thirty-eight; English, sixteen; Italian, thirteen; German, nine; Latin, eight; Spanish, seven; Portuguese, four; Flemish, three, and Bohemian, Provençal, Swedish, Welsh, and Dutch, each one. This century was less productive of authors, whose names are known, than the preceding one.

¹⁶ *Harvard Studies*, 1906, 175 ff.

In the fifteenth century there is only a slight advance in the number of names, but the titles have increased: twenty names, thirty-seven titles, with one hundred and three versions, divided among nine languages, as follows: English, thirty-two; French, twenty-six; German, sixteen; Italian, fourteen; Icelandic and Welsh, each four; Spanish, three; Latin and Portuguese, each two. This total of names does not include printers.

The authors and scribes for the century are: Aubret, Bourgchier, Daniello di Ghery, Ludowicus Flüegl, Ulrich Fűrterer, Giovanni de' Cignardi, Gilles Gassien, Lonelich, Malory, Micheau Gonnet de Brouce, Robert of Thornton, Owen Jones, G. Papin, Rate, Segebert von Babenberg, Pierre Sala, E. Towler, Venetio, Jehan Wauquelin, Zuliano de Anzola, besides a number of anonymous productions, and the reproductions of printers whose names are not here given.

The new period entered with the last quarter of this century. In 1477 were printed the first books that interest us here: *Ist zweifel Herten nachgeburt*, etc., Augsburg, which treats of Perceval, and *Titurcl*, by Wolfram von Eschenbach, also at Augsburg. These were followed, in 1480, by *Vita (Historia) di Merlino*, Venice, Luca Veneto (Veneziano), a translation of Robert de Borron, which was reprinted at Florence in 1485; *I Due primi libri della storia di Merlino*, also a translation, by Zorzi, from Robert de Borron, Florence, 1495; 1480, Caxton, *Chronicle of England*, translated from French *Brut*; 1481, *Livre de bataille*, Lyons; 1484, *Hienach folget die historie von herren Tristrant und der schön Isalden von Irland*, etc., Augsburg, Antonio Sorg; also Augsburg, 1498, by Schönsperger, and the same date, *Volksbuch*, Augsburg; 1485, Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, translated from the French, and printed and divided into chapters by Caxton at London (Westminster); reprinted 1498 by Wynkyn de Worde; 1485, *Historia di Merlino*, Florence, same as Veneto, 1480: 1486, *Lanselet*, printed by Govert van Ghemen ter Goude, Holland (no place is mentioned); 1488, *Histoire du roy Arthur et des chevaliers de la Table ronde* (Gautier Map's), Rouen, also Paris; same date, *Prophécies de Merlin*, Paris, Anthoine Verard, and *Table ronde, autrement dit Lancelot du Lac, compile et extraict . . . des vraies hystoires . . . par Gaultier Map*, Rouen,

Jehan le Bourgeois; 1489, *Histoire*¹⁷ *du tres vaillant, nobles et excellent chevalier Tristan, fils du roi Meliadus* (Luce de Gast), Rouen, Jehan le Bourgeois, and Paris, Verard; 1496, the same, Paris, Verard, and Rouen, printer unknown; 1492, *Libro de battaglio de Tristano*, Cremona, Bernadinum de Misentis de Papia, a small poem of 130 stanzas; 1493, *Wigoleis vom Rade*, by Wirnt von Gravenberg, Augsburg, Schönsperger; 1494, *Faits et gestes du noble . . . Lancelot*, Paris, Verard; 1495, *Vita di Merlino*, Florence, also Venice; *Tristan*, Paris, Verard; 1498, *Histoire de la vie, miracles, enchantemens de Merlin* (Robert de Borron), Paris, Verard; *Booke of Kynge Arthur*, Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde; *Tristan*, Schönsperger, Augsburg; *Volksbuch*, Augsburg, containing a German prose rendering of Eilhart von Oberge's *Tristrant*; 1499, *El baladro del sabio Merlin con sus profecias*, Burgos, Juan de Burgos; Luce de Gast's *Tristan*, Paris, Verard; *Lancelot*, Paris. In all, there were twenty-seven printed versions, copies of which have been preserved.

Here the writer ventures to criticize the manner of referring to the early printed books. Scholars have an indiscriminate way of referring, for example, to the Rouen *Tristan*, of 1489, as the 1489 *Tristan*, or the Jehan *Tristan*, etc. Such careless practices cause endless confusion and waste of time to the student, besides giving occasion for error on the part of the bibliographer who has not personal access to the volumes indicated. The writer has in his possession three separate cards of one title and four of another, besides numerous ones in duplicate, the result of this careless habit. Upon examination, the volumes resolved themselves into the same version under the same title. A reasonable practice would be to indicate by author when known, giving place and date of publication; if the author is unknown, then the printer, with place and date. This would make for uniformity and accuracy.

The centers for publication were: England: London, Westminster (Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde); Germany: Augsburg (Hans

¹⁷ Löseth, *Les Romans en prose de Tristan*, etc. . . . Paris, Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 1890, XXII, gives the title as: *Roman du noble Tristan* . . . etc., but a copy in the British Museum, London, and one in the Bibl. Nat. Paris, bear the title: *Histoire des vertueux faits du* . . . etc., and another copy in the Bibl. nat., and one in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, have *Histoire du tres vaillant*, etc.

Schönsperger, Antonio Sorg) ; France: Rouen (Jehan le Bourgois), Paris (Antoine Verard, Jehan du Pre, Gaillard le Bourgois) ; Spain: Burgos (Juan de Burgos) ; Italy: Cremona (Bernadinum de Misentis de Papia, Cesare Parmensem), Venice (Luca Veneto or Veneziano), Florence. . . .

The titles of the fifteenth century are: *Arthur*, with supplementary versions; *Armes des chevaliers de la Table ronde*; *Arbre de bataille*; *Brut*; *Chronicles*; *Cavaliere del falso scudo*; *Cligès*; *Sir Corneus*; *Claris et Laris*; *Daniel von dem blühenden Tal*; *Guiron*; *Gawayne*; *Grail*; *Guinglain*; *Historia britonum*; *Iwein*; *Iarlles* (Welsh version of Chrestien's *Ivain*); *Joseph*; *Krone*; *Lancelot*; *Libeaus desconnus*; *Llyfr*; *Lanval*; *Mantel*; *Meliadus*; *Merlin*; *Vows of the companions of the Round Table*; *Papagau*; *Perceval*; *Peredur*; *Perceforest, Round Table*; *Titurel*; *Tristan*; *Tourneys of the companions of the Round Table*; *Wigoleis*; *Ysaye le triste*.

Writers of previous centuries who are represented are: Albrecht von Scharfenberg, Chrestien de Troyes, Eilhart von Oberge, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Hartmann von Aue, Heinrich von Freiburg, Heinrich von dem Türlin, Hélié de Borron, Jacob van Maerlant, Luce de Gast, Gautier Map, Renaut de Beaujeu, Robert de Borron, Rusticien de Pise, Der Stricker, Wace, Wirnt von Gravenberg, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Zorzi.

The sixteenth century was the gala time of Arthurian literature before the nineteenth century. There are thirty-five titles, twenty-nine names, and two hundred and twelve versions, now including editions, divided among eight languages, of which French has eighty-three, Italian forty-six, German thirty-two, English twenty-six, Spanish nineteen, Latin four, Icelandic and Portuguese each one. The increase in versions is accounted for by the large number of printed editions in which were reproduced, in some instances, older versions, frequently altered, and, in other cases, new versions or redactions. It is noticeable that only one of the older incidental motifs appears in extant literature in this century, that of the "*Manteau mautailé*", while, on the other hand, there are new compositions on Guinevere,¹⁵ Gundelbano, the Lady of Shalot, Sagra-

¹⁵ A tragi-comedy performed at Fontainebleu, 1564, which is lost.

mor, and descriptions of the arms, sports, and vows of the companions of the Round Table.

The predominance of prose over metrical versions is apparent. The introduction of printing was at once making its influence felt. The dissemination of literary monuments in permanent form was not, before this period, an easy matter, owing to the slowness of writing, the expense of the operation, and the cost of the material on which to transcribe, but the difficulties in the process of reproduction had now become notably lessened. Then, too, verse was giving way more regularly to the prose form, as the public was no longer so greatly dependent on the offices of the professional reader or reciter for its intellectual entertainment. This made possible the increasing interest in the longer tale to the prejudice of the shorter, detached episode, which was frequently semi-dependent in character. Some of those episodes had already become permanently incorporated in the longer narratives. Under the new conditions one would expect a rapid and extensive spread in the production of the novelistic literature of the Arthurian tradition. Such is the case, as is demonstrated by the large number of versions, two hundred and twelve, but the geographical limits are still restricted to western Europe, to France, England, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Norway, and Belgium, with one Spanish version, and Latin is still in evidence with four versions, plus five chronicles based on Geoffrey of Monmouth.

The places of publication were: France: Paris: Anthoine Verard,¹⁶ *Giron, Lancelot, Merlin, Tristan*; Michel le Noir, *Giron, Grail, Tristan, Merlin, Lancelot*; J. Badius Ascensius, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* in Latin; Philippe le Noir, *Merlin, Ysaye, Grail, Lancelot, Round Table*; Jehan (le) Petit,¹⁷ *Grail, Lancelot*; Galliot du Pré, *Grail, Ysaye, Perceforest, Meliadus*; Anthoine Houic, *Devise des armes*; Jehan Longis and Jehan Saint Denis, *Perceval*; Denis Janot, *Tristan, Meliadus*; Claude and Rinaldo Cal-

¹⁶ Among these names are included those of printers and dealers. It is frequently difficult to distinguish between them.

¹⁷ Jehan le Petit, Galliot du Pré, and Michel le Noir collaborated in printing, or selling, a *Grail*, and the names of Jehan le Petit and Michel le Noir appear together on the title-page of a *Lancelot*.

deria, *Girone* in Italian; Nicole (Nicolas) Bonfons, *Tristan, Arthur*; Veuve Maurice de la Porte, *Tristan*; Jehan Trepperel and Jehan Jehannot, *Merlin*; Gabriel Buon, *Tristan*; Nicolas Cousteau, "pour Galliot du Pré," *Perceforest*; and, no printer or dealer known, *Perceval* one, *Grail* two, *Tristan* two, *Perceforest* three, *Merlin* two, *Lancelot* one, *Meliadus* one; Rouen: Jehan and Richard Mace, associated with Michel Angier, of Caen, *Merlin*; Lyons: Claude Nourry, *Giglain*; Benoist Rigaud, *Tristan, Lancelot*; F. Didier, *Manteau*; Germany, Worms: Gregorius Hofman, *Tristan*; Frankfort: Weygand Han, *Tristan*; G. Rube and Weygand Han, *Wigoleis*; Thomas Rebart and Kilian Hahn, *Tristan*; Johan and Sigmund Feyerabendt, *Buch der Liebe*, with a prose rendering of Eilhart von Oberg's *Tristan*; Nicole Rost, *Tristan*, and an unsigned *Heldenbuch* containing *Tristan*; Strassburg: Jacob Fröhlich, *Tristan*; an unsigned *Tristan* and *Gawain*; Augsburg: J. Knoblauch, *Wigoleis*; Switzerland, Berne: a *Tristan*; Basel: P. Pernam, *Merlin*; England, London: Wynkyn de Worde, *Joseph, Merlin*; Richard Pinson (Pynsson), *Joseph*; John Herford, Leland's *Assertio*; Richard Grafton, *Arthur*; William Copland, *Arthur*; Thomas East, *Arthur*; John Wolf(e), Leland's *Assertio, Arms of the Companions of the Round Table*; R. Robinson, *Devise des armes*, Leland's *Assertio, Misfortunes of Arthur*; Edinburgh: John Pinkerton, *Gawain*; Walter Chapman (Chepman), *Golagros and Gawain*; Spain, Seville: Juan Cromberger, *Tristan*; Domenico de Robertis, *Tristan*; unsigned, a *Tristan, Merlin, Grail*, and *Perceval*; Toledo: Juan de Villaquiran, *Grail*; an unsigned *Tristan*; Valladolid: Juan de Burgos, *Tristan*; Barcelona: a *Gawain*; Belgium, Antwerp: Martin Nucio, a Spanish *Tristan*; Italy, Milan: Joanne da Castione, *Tristan*; an unsigned *Gawain*; Bologna: Benedetti, *Novelle antiche*, containing short poems on *Tristan* and *Lancelot*; Venice: Bartolomeo and Francesco suo genero, *Merlin*; Michele Tramessino (Tremezzino), *Perceforest, Tristan, Lancelot*; P. Nicolini, *Tristan*; i Guerra, *Lancelot*; Alexandro and Benedetto de Bindoni, *Tristan*; Vicentio (Vicentino) and Nicolo Zoppino, *Lancelot*; Venturino de Roffinelli, *Merlin*; Florence: Giunti, Borghini's *Libro di novelli*, containing *Tristan*.

A comparison of the first half and the second half of this cen-

tury shows a decrease in the number of productions: one hundred and seven to eighty-four, with twenty-one additional ones, the relative dates of which are not determined. The last quarter has only thirty-six, the other quarters having fifty-nine, forty-eight, and forty-eight respectively. French, with fifty and twenty-five, not including eight undated, and Spanish, with fourteen and five, are the only languages showing a decrease during the course of the period, while German, with ten and seventeen, not including five undated, English, with eleven and fifteen, and Italian, with eighteen and twenty, not including eight undated, present an increase, the others remaining stationary. This falling-off in French is significant, for interest in France will wane appreciably in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The names of authors and copyists belonging to the sixteenth century are: Nicolo Agostini, L. Alemanni, Vincenzo Borghini, Johan Bourghcher (Lord Berners), Philipe Camus, R. Copland, Christopher Crispin, Erasmo di Valvasone, Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos, Fossa da Cremona, Enea Galetti, Gilles Gourmant, Carlo Gualteruzzi, John Harding, John Hawkins, Thomas Hughes, Juan de Villaquiran, John Leland, William Liely, Jean (Ian) Maugin, John Pinkerton, C. Platin, Pseudo-Shakespeare, Roderigo de Reinos, Hans Sachs, Sala¹⁸ de Lyon, Spenser, Stowe, Timoneda, Warner.

The subjects treated are: *Arthur*, *Armes des chevaliers de la Table ronde*, *Chevalier au lion*, *Chronicles*, based on Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Devise des armes*, *Erec*, *Fairy Queen*, *Gawain*, *Genevière*, *Giglain*, *Giron*, *Golagros and Gawain*, *Grail*, *Gundelbano*, *Jaufre* (son of Conde don Ason), *Joseph*, *Lady of Shalot*, *Lancelot*, *Lanval*, *Libeaus desconnus*, *Mantel mautailé*, *Meliadus*, *Merlin*, *Oliver and Arthur*, *Perceforest*, *Perceval*, *Round Table*, *Sagramor*, *Serments des chevaliers de la Table ronde*, *Tristan*,¹⁹ *Tournois des chevaliers de la Table ronde*, *Wigoleis*, *Ysaye le triste*.

¹⁸ This is not the same Sala who wrote a *Tristan et Lancelot* in the fifteenth century.

¹⁹ Tristan is treated in supplementary versions, in addition to the regular ones: *Innamoramento di Tristano*, *Qualità di Tristano*, *Lettera di Tristano*, *Death of Tristan*, and an Italian version of the incident of Tristan as fool.

Names of the previous centuries reappearing at this time are:
Eilhart von Oberge, Ulrich Fûerterer, Geoffrey of Monmouth,
Hartmann von Aue, Heinrich von dem Tûrlin, Hélie de Borron,
Luce de Gast, Malory, Robert de Borron, Robert of Gloucester,
Rusticien de Pise, Sala de Lyon (?).

(To be continued.)

A. E. CURDY

YALE UNIVERSITY
